

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-10 DOTE-00 EB-07 NSCE-00 SSO-00

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O R 191148Z DEC 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5218

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 20528

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, GW, GE, US, UK, FR

SUBJECT: INNER-GERMAN NEGOTIATIONS AND ALLIED
CONSULTATION

REFS: A) BERLIN 6927; B) USBERLIN 2588; C) BONN 20429

D) BONN 20378; E) BONN 20375; F) BONN 20373

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE FRG BONN GROUP REPRESENTATIVE HAS
MADE CLEAR THE EMBARRASSMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE AT
THE PRESSURE TACTICS WHICH WERE APPLIED ON THE THREE
ALLIED GOVERNMENTS TO OBTAIN ALLIED CONCURRENCE IN THE
FINAL DETAILS OF THE JUST-CONCLUDED INNER-GERMAN
TRANSIT NEGOTIATIONS. SIGNING IS NOW SCHEDULED FOR
THE AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 19. END SUMMARY

1. THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAS JUST PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING
SCHEDULE FOR CONCLUSION OF THE TRANSIT PACKAGE ON THE
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AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 19:

4:00 P.M. - MEETING OF EXPERTS FOR FINAL
COMPARISON OF TEXTS.

5:30 P.M. - SIGNATURE OF PROTOCOL ON LUMP-SUM
PAYMENT.

6:30 P.M. - EXCHANGE OF LETTERS CONCERNING
AUTOBAHN RECONSTRUCTION AND WIDENING.

7:30 P.M. - EXCHANGE OF DECLARATIONS CONCERNING
STAAKEN, NEW RAIL STOPS, AND OTHER
MATTERS.

2. THE TRANSIT AGREEMENTS, INCLUDING AN EXPLANATION
OF THE DELAY IN SIGNING AND INITIALING, WERE DISCUSSED
IN THE BONN GROUP ON THE AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 18 AT
FRG INITIATIVE. FOLLOWING UP ON REMARKS BY STATE
SECRETARY GEHLHOFF TO THE THREE ALLIED AMBASSADORS
AT THE DECEMBER 17 LUNCHEON (REFTEL C), THE SENIOR FRG
BONN GROUP REPRESENTATIVE (LUECKING) EXPRESSED THE
EXTREME EMBARRASSMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE AT THE
EVENTS OF THE PREVIOUS TWO DAYS IN A CAREFULLY PREPARED
APOLOGIA. PARADOXICALLY, ACCORDING TO LUECKING'S
EXPLANATION BOTH THE DEMANDS FOR SPEED ON THE FRG
SIDE AND THE GDR REQUIREMENT THAT THE SIGNING BE
DELAYED WERE ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE SAME CIRCUMSTANCE--THE
HIGH LEVEL AT WHICH THE FINAL ROUNDS OF THE FRG-GDR
NEGOTIATIONS WERE CONDUCTED.

3. LUECKING ELABORATED ON THE "TECHNICAL REASONS"
MENTIONED BY HERZ (REFTEL B) AND BY THE PRESS FOR
POSTPONING SIGNATURE FROM DECEMBER 18 TO DECEMBER 19.
THE DIFFICULTY WAS THAT IN THE FINAL DAYS THE
NEGOTIATIONS HAD BEEN CONDUCTED BY GAUS NOT ONLY WITH
NIER BUT "ON A VERY HIGH LEVEL"; HE HAD BEEN SERVING
AS AN INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN SCHMIDT AND HONECKER, AND
HONECKER HAD MADE THE FINAL DECISIONS. BUT IT TOOK
TIME THEREAFTER FOR THE RESULTS TO BE PASSED DOWN FROM
HONECKER AND FED INTO THE GDR BUREAUCRATIC MACHINERY,
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AND THIS HAD NOT PROVED POSSIBLE BY THE 18TH.

4. SPEAKING FROM A PREPARED TEXT, LUECKING THEN SAID
THAT IT WAS ALSO BECAUSE OF THE HIGH LEVEL AT WHICH THE
FINAL STAGES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS HAD BEEN CONDUCTED
THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO FULFILL
ITS RESPONSIBILITIES FOR FULL CONSULTATION WITH THE
ALLIES. THE FOREIGN OFFICE REGRETTED THAT IT HAD HAD TO HAVE

RECOURSE TO THE PROCEDURES THAT WERE FOLLOWED AND
HOPED THAT WHAT IT HAD HAD TO DO WOULD NOT INFLUENCE
FUTURE COOPERATION WITH THE ALLIES.

5. LUECKING, WHO OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS HAS PUT THE
BEST FACE POSSIBLE ON THE SITUATION WHILE PRIVATELY
LETTING IT BE KNOWN TO BONN GROUP COLLEAGUES THAT HE

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WAS UNHAPPY WITH HIS INABILITY TO OBTAIN THE NEEDED
INFORMATION FROM THE CHANCELLERY, ADDED THAT THE FONOFF
HAD DONE WHAT IT COULD TO KEEP THE ALLIES UP TO DATE
ON THE STATUS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE REVEALED THAT,
AT THE MEETING WITH THE CHANCELLOR ON THE AFTERNOON OF
DECEMBER 16 (REFTEL D), GENSCHER HAD ARGUED FOR POST-
PONING THE DECEMBER 17 CABINET DISCUSSION OF THE

AGREEMENTS UNTIL BONN GROUP CONSULTATIONS COULD BE CONCLUDED. HE HAD BEEN OVERRULED BY THE CHANCELLOR, HOWEVER, AND IT WAS FOR THAT REASON THAT GEHLHOFF WAS FORCED TO SUMMON THE THREE ALLIED AMBASSADORS FOR A NIGHT MEETING. (WHILE LUECKING WAS UNABLE TO ANSWER DIRECTLY A QUESTION AS TO THE REASON FOR THE URGENCY, HE SPECULATED THAT THE CHANCELLOR WAS MOTIVATED BOTH BY THE DESIRE TO WRAP UP THE NEGOTIATIONS, ONCE THE AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED, WITHOUT ANY FURTHER CHANCE
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FOR SLIPPAGE, AND ALSO BY REPORTS THAT THE GDR WAS CONSIDERING REVERTING TO THE PRE-QA SYSTEM OF COLLECTING FEES FROM INDIVIDUAL TRAVELERS ON THE TRANSIT ROUTES IF AGREEMENT ON THE LUMP-SUM PAYMENT WERE NOT REACHED BEFORE THE DECEMBER 31 DEADLINE.)

6. IN CONCLUDING HIS PREPARED STATEMENT, LUECKING SAID THAT HE HAD, OF COURSE, PRESENTED THE POSITION OF HIS GOVERNMENT TO THE ALLIES THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT THAT AT THE SAME TIME HE HAD CONSISTENTLY TRIED WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT TO MAKE THOSE WHO WERE NOT DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH SUCH ISSUES UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIES.

7. COMMENT: LUECKING'S EXTRAORDINARY PRESENTATION DEMONSTRATES THE DEPTH OF HIS PERSONAL REGRET AT THE WAY MATTERS WERE HANDLED. FROM HIS LONG EXPERIENCE WITH BERLIN AFFAIRS AND WORK IN THE BONN GROUP HE IS OF COURSE MORE AWARE THAN MOST IN THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT OF THE PRIMARY IMPORTANCE TO THE FRG OF THE CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM IN THE BONN GROUP. HOPEFULLY HIS AND GEHLHOFF'S ASSURANCES THAT SUCH PROCEDURES WILL NOT BE FOLLOWED IN THE FUTURE INDICATE THAT THE COMPLAINTS WHICH THEY HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY MADE WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT, AS REINFORCED BY THE EXPRESSIONS OF DISPLEASURE BY THE THREE ALLIED AMBASSADORS, WILL IN

FACT PREVENT RECURRENCE.
HILLENBRAND

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